

PROFESSOR ALEXANDER SPEAKS

At an Open Meeting Held by the American League.

HAWAII'S TROUBLES AT WASHINGTON.

How the Sentiment of the American People Turned in the Balance—Many Newspapers That at First Were Against Us Changed their Opinion.

There was a fair attendance at the American League hall Saturday evening, to hear Prof. W. D. Alexander speak about his experience in Washington, and the case of Hawaii as presented by our friends and enemies there. His speech follows:

I thank you for the invitation to address you on this occasion, and sincerely regard it as a high honor. As you know, public speaking is not in my line, but I am ready to contribute my mite to help on the cause.

Mr. Emerson in his eloquent address last Monday evening antici-



PROF. W. D. ALEXANDER.
(Sketched from a Photograph.)

pated much which I might say, and said it better than I could have done. But the subject is broad and many-sided, and I shall only supplement his statements, in an informal way, avoiding personalities as far as possible.

Altogether too much has been credited to our labors in Washington and elsewhere. Gentlemen, it was not what we said over yonder, but what you did here that won our case before the jury of the American people. Here was given an object lesson, as it were, before the eyes of the world, confirming the truth of our testimony.

When the spectators of our little drama observed the moderation and forbearance, as well as the dignity and firmness shown by the Hawaiian Government, under the severest trials, when they saw it in spite of enemies from without and enemies within, maintain peace and order, administer justice, and keep its financial credit at par; above all, when they heard of the splendid fortitude shown by men and women during the black week of December, and read those calm and unanswerable State papers that emanated from our executive they were convinced that you were not a mere handful of carpet-baggers and office-seekers, but patriots of the same stamp as those who founded the American republic.

The only trouble is that they are inclined to idealize us too much, and to expect impossibilities. Still I am sure that the trials of the past year must have been a valuable training for our people, and that those who stood shoulder to shoulder so long will continue to keep their lines unbroken in the presence of the enemy. As Dana says, let us "stand together and close together."

I will add here that the spirit of kindness and fairness so far shown by you towards the native-born Hawaiians has done much to conciliate those people in the States whose good opinion is worth most to us.

The late monarchy had been of late years a greater curse to the native than to the white race, a fact which is recognized by the most enlightened and patriotic Hawaiians. The revolution was intended to preserve the rights of both races, and in the transition period through which we are to pass, I believe that the kindest consideration will continue to be shown towards the Hawaiian. He is the elder partner in the firm which takes its name from him, and I think nobody proposes to "freeze him out," or to deprive him of any voice in its management.

A race that contains such men as the two Kauhans, the incorruptible patriot and the brave and loyal policeman, deserves the sympathy and help of all good men in striving for a higher future.

It was gratifying to find that the leading philanthropists and humanitarians in the States, the champions of the colored races, were using their powerful influence on the side of the Provisional Government. May we never forfeit their good opinion!

I will begin my story eight months ago. It is true that when I reached Washington last August, a certain reaction had taken place from the first enthusiasm in our cause, while the financial panic and the silver question for a time engrossed public attention.

The ground gained last spring, however, had never been lost. There was a strong undercurrent of popular feeling in our favor all the time, and it was surprising to see how deep and lasting were the sentiments excited by the hauling down of the Stars and Stripes on April 1, 1893.

There was, however, widespread ignorance and indifference, rather than hostility on this subject. It was gen-

erally expected that a special message on the Hawaiian question would be sent to Congress at the special session, together with Blount's report. The general feeling then seemed to be in favor of a protectorate of some kind, nobody explained what. The ablest men in Congress declared the policy of restoration to be "unthinkable." At the same time the appointments of Minister Resident and Consul-General seemed to show that no annexation was contemplated by the Administration. During the first week in September Messrs. Blount and Willis were both summoned to Washington, and it was known that the Hawaiian question was under discussion in the Cabinet.

The profound secrecy which had been strictly observed on that subject is without precedent in diplomatic history, and quite an excitement was raised by a despatch by the New York Herald correspondent on September 25th, setting forth the alleged programme decided upon by President Cleveland. The substance of it was that a protectorate would be extended over this Government, under which elections would be ordered to determine the permanent form of government, and that "in return for the protection thus guaranteed, the Administration would expect the exclusive and unreserved right to Pearl Harbor." The absurdity of making such a proposal to an independent Government was ably exposed by the New York Sun and other papers, and the lively discussion that took place all over the country, showed the interest that the American people felt in the question. Here a word will be in place on the course of the American press. On this particular subject the venerable Dana of the New York Sun is *facile princeps*. It is his *kuleana*. A contemporary of Horace Greeley, he engaged W. M. Gibson as a correspondent, before he had sailed for the East Indies in the brig "Flirt." He has "outlived and outworked four generations of newspaper writers," and is today generally acknowledged to stand at the head of his profession in America.

For six months scarcely a day passed without an editorial article in the Sun on the Hawaiian question, always accurate, always crisp and fresh and different from any that had appeared before. Every phase of this many-sided subject was illuminated by turns. Age cannot stale his infinite variety.

The New York Tribune's services to our cause are well known, but its influence has been more confined within party limits. Other influential papers on our side are the Chicago Tribune, the Inter-Ocean, the Philadelphia Press, the two leading Washington papers, the Post and Star, and the Atlanta Constitution.

It is a remarkable fact that almost all the religious papers of the country have solidly sustained the Provisional Government, and among them all, for insight and breadth of view and convincing power of statement, the palm must be given to the New York Independent. The editorial writing in the New York Herald is notoriously weak, but it employs able correspondents and is a mighty organization for gathering and disseminating news. It did us much harm at first by the circulation which it gave to Nordhoff's slanders. It took the American public a considerable time to "size him up," but he is thoroughly discredited now, and has at last relapsed into "innocuous desuetude." The World has always preached non-interference. The New York Mugwump papers, the Evening Post and Harper's Weekly, have been our bitterest and most unscrupulous enemies. The Mugwump, as Theodore Roosevelt once said, is invariably wrong on questions of foreign policy. He is still a Colonial in his sentiments.

Any pronounced American sentiment is "bad form you know," and the Navy is his special aversion. He advocates a sort of Korean policy of isolation, and shudders at the idea of going off soundings, or even wetting his feet in salt water. Happily, his influence is limited and on the decline.

The extra session of Congress dragged on through September and October, and a final vote was not reached till October 30th. Congress finally adjourned without receiving any information on the Hawaiian question from the President.

The following week the Herald correspondent again seemed to have found a leak in the State department, and published a statement of the President's Hawaiian policy, which has since turned out to be very nearly correct, and which called out a storm of discussion all over the country.

This continued for several days, when Secretary Gresham, believing that his carefully laid scheme had already been executed, gave his famous letter of Oct. 18th to certain "cuckoo" papers in New York and Chicago on the evening of Nov. 10th. The effect was that of a bomb-shell. Friends and foes alike either condemned or deplored it. The tidal wave of popular indignation that swept over the country far surpassed our expectations, and the American eagle certainly did scream. Editor Dana of the Sun set the keynote by his famous editorial on "The Policy of Infamy," and three-fourths of the papers throughout the country took the same view of the case. Our legation was besieged by correspondents and press agents, ravenous for news. "Have your people got sand?" "Will Dole fight?" was frequently asked by naval officers, Congressmen and others. The question whether force would be used was continually discussed, but the general opinion at Washington was in the negative. The anxiety for the next few days was intense, and when at length on Dec. 5th we heard by way of Vancouver that for some unknown cause the carefully laid torpedoes had failed to explode, there was a universal feeling of relief. We were as much in the dark as to the nature of the unforeseen contingencies as you were here. In order to turn the current of public feeling, a synopsis of Blount's report was given out on the 20th, and later on the whole of it was published. But, instead of creating a revolution of opinion, it fell dead from the start. Its extreme partisan and one-sided character could not fail to strike the most superficial reader. Senator Davis, of Minnesota, dissected it in a masterly manner. Even granting its findings to be correct, it was plainly seen that they would not justify the "policy of infamy." Its defenders dwindled away day by day, till at last even the New York Evening Post threw up the

sponge and reluctantly gave in its adhesion to the doctrine of non-interference.

The intense interest in our fate which was displayed throughout that vast country, and the extreme avidity with which every scrap of information was sought for was surprising; but what was more wonderful was the fact that this interest was kept up month after month without any decline. Even the tariff question did not displace it. It was the time for a "campaign of education." Annexation was the favorite subject of debate in all the literary societies and debating clubs in the land. It was certainly the greatest advertisement these islands ever received. At length, as you remember, the regular session of Congress opened, and the President's annual message was published, December 4th, the day before the Corwin sailed on her memorable trip to these islands. The succeeding events are still fresh in your minds. Both houses of Congress promptly called for information, and nearly the whole correspondence of both the State Department and the Navy Department, dating to the islands for ten years past, was laid before them and printed. Senator Morgan then had a resolution passed, authorizing an investigation by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which he is chairman, and commenced taking evidence January 2d. You are all familiar with the work of that committee and its final report in our favor. The selection of that sub-committee could not have been better, presided over as it was by the illustrious Senator from Alabama, with such distinguished representatives of his own party as Senator Gray of Delaware, and Butler of South Carolina, and of the Republican party as Sherman of Ohio and Frye of Maine. The examination was conducted with the utmost courtesy and fairness, but (as the chief victim) I am sorry to say that the reporting of the testimony was very poorly done.

Nothing that I can say will add or detract from the reputation of Senator Morgan, but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of him. A brave and chivalrous officer in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, he has since won higher laurels as a statesman and a patriot. While he is generally considered the ablest member of his party in Congress and a high authority on international law, he is respected by all parties for the purity and nobility of his character and his freedom from partisan and sectional bigotry. No statesman since Seward has taken broader or more far-reaching views of the interests of the whole country, or is more jealous of the honor of the national flag. The trouble with our case at Washington has been the inevitable tendency to make it the football of party politics; to use it either to blacken the last administration or to make party capital for the next elections. Senator Morgan expects, during this Congress, to carry through the Nicaragua Canal Bill, with which the future of these islands is so intimately connected.

The so-called Turpie resolution, agreed to by eight out of the nine members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, is all that we could expect, and will undoubtedly pass the Senate with but little opposition. You are, no doubt, aware that seven out of the nine members of the committee have declared in favor of the principles of annexation.

A similar non-partisan resolution which was proposed in the House of Representatives by Holman, of Indiana, was modified under pressure from the Administration into the self-contradictory and absurd McCrary resolution, which was passed with the greatest difficulty under the party lash after two days' vain attempts to muster a quorum. The circumstances attending the passage deprived it of all moral weight. It called forth, however, eloquent and statesmanlike speeches from Mr. Hitt, of Illinois, and General Sikes, of New York. Mr. Hitt called attention to the fact that France was under a Provisional Government from 1870 to 1875, and General Sikes, after reviewing the annexation policy of the Democratic party in its palmy days, closed by saying: "No resolutions which we may pass now or hereafter can charge the irrevocable decree of destiny that those islands shall become a part of the United States."

The result of the Corwin's trip (which was not known until it was telegraphed from Vancouver on Jan. 9th) added fuel to the flame of popular indignation. As the particulars gradually came to light, the current of public opinion became more overwhelming than ever, and the publication on Jan. 13th of Minister Willis' long-withheld despatch No. 3, of Nov. 16th, gave the finishing stroke to the cause of monarchy. Thenceforth no member of either house of Congress dared to rise in his place and advocate restoration. The country certainly owes a debt of gratitude to the American Minister, whose despatches have rendered such invaluable service to our cause. They evince a candor and truthfulness, and an insight into character which are not often met with, while they prove the necessity of the revolution, and vindicate the character of its leaders. He rendered us another important service by calling out the letter of specifications of Jan. 6th, which is a valuable contribution to the history of the past year.

It shows the interest felt in the subject, and the enterprise of the American press that on the arrival of the Honolulu papers in San Francisco, the whole of the famous letter of specifications, containing 7000 or 8000 words, was telegraphed in full and appeared in all the leading journals of the United States the next morning. What is more, it was widely read. The side-swinging farce played at the annual dinner of the Washington Gridiron Club, which is composed of forty newspaper correspondents, showed their contempt for the policy of restoration, just as the wonderful ovation paid to Mr. Thurston at the Loyal League banquet on Lincoln's birthday showed the feeling of the army and navy officers.

The final report of Senator Morgan with the mass of sworn evidence that accompanies it, which appeared on February 26th, has entirely superseded and discredited the Blount report in public opinion.

It deals, as Senator Morgan means it should not merely with the past but with the future, and is intended to pave the way for closer relations between the two republics in time to

come. As is fully understood in Washington the effect of the McCrary and Turpie resolutions is to declare a virtual protectorate over these islands. Special privileges imply special responsibilities, and it is not to be denied that the United States is at the present moment held responsible by the public opinion of the civilized world for the fate of these islands. By warning other powers not to interfere, it necessarily assumes a certain responsibility in the premises, at least as regards the interests of their subjects, even if those of its own citizens be disregarded. The action of both houses of Congress shows their unwillingness to renounce this exclusive claim with all the responsibilities which logically result from it. The fact is that General Sikes' speech expressed the feeling of the mass of the American people: "They will never consent that these islands shall become an advanced post of Asia and Asiatic civilization."

I have been asked to say a word on the prospects of the United States tariff. No man living can predict the outcome of the present contest in Congress. The character of the bill changes almost from day to day. The bill as first drawn up involved a deficit of sixty or seventy millions. The House of Representatives added an income tax and abolished the bounty on sugar, leaving that interest without any protection. That meant absolute ruin to Louisiana and no benefit to Hawaii.

The Senate sub-committee were still wrestling with the problem at last accounts. Nothing was said about restoring the bounty, but a proposition was being considered to lay a duty of a cent and upwards per pound on sugar. This would do no good if the reciprocity convention with Germany and Spain, under the McKinley Act, remained in force. It was, therefore, proposed not only to give them notice of the termination of these conventions, but also to give a similar notice to this country. As our treaty is of a different nature from the others mentioned, and carries with it all the special privileges claimed by the United States in these islands, it is very unlikely that such an article can pass the Senate.

While the re-imposition of a duty on sugar would be a boon to this country, yet the abolition of the bounty by this Congress is of more vital importance to us in the long run. As long as that bounty stands, it is not only unjust to the mass of the American people, but it is an effective bar to annexation. For no intelligent man dreams that the United States ever can or ought to pay a bounty to the sugar-planters of these islands; at the same time it is hard to see how any territory of the United States could be excluded from the operation of a Federal law.

It is therefore "devoutly to be wished" that the Wilson Bill may pass in some shape, without the detested bounty clause, before the Democrats lose control of both houses of Congress. We can continue to live as we have done, without the benefit of a duty on sugar, but the continuance of the bounty system means that Uncle Sam's door will remain locked against us for some years longer.

There are many resemblances between our history and that of Texas, and I think we shall complete the parallel. Texas was twice rebuffed, and had to sail under the Lone Star flag for nine years, but it was brought in at last by the irrepressible desire of the people of the United States, and so shall we be.

A vote of thanks was passed for the able speech of Prof. Alexander.

Dr. N. B. Emerson, E. Towse and J. A. McCandless also made addresses. President Murray, spying Dan Logan, the Bulletin editor, in the audience, called on him for a speech. Great applause followed the request. Mr. Logan, who evidently felt that, in politics, the hand of every man in the room was turned against him, found a very graceful way out of his predicament, saying:

GENTLEMEN: I am exceedingly surprised at the compliment paid me in asking me for a speech, but you must excuse me. I can only say that I have greatly enjoyed the evening. You know that there is a kind of armed neutrality existing between me and I have always tried to do what I thought was best for this, my adopted country. We may yet come to the same goal though we are on different forks of the road at present.

As a close to the evening, W. S. Howard gave a few remarks on the general status of the country. Another open meeting will be held next Friday evening, and the League intends to make a special feature of them hereafter.

Concert of Prayer.

The American Board have sent circulars to their missionaries asking them to hold a concert of prayer on Sunday, May 13th, the anniversary of Pentecost, for grace and help to missions in this year of financial distress "making us quick to plan, rich in resources, wise in execution, and prevailing in prayer," also that the sons and daughters of the churches who are offering their services may be generously sent by God's people.—The Friend.

The Kuokoa contains a letter from the pen of Chief Justice Judd, urging the Hawaiians to exercise their political rights at the approaching election.

Persons who are subject to attacks of bilious colic can almost invariably tell, by their feelings, when to expect an attack. If Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy is taken as these symptoms appear, they can ward off the disease. Such persons should always keep the Remedy at hand, ready for immediate use when needed. Two or three doses of it at the right time will save them much suffering. For sale by all dealers, BENSON, SMITH & Co., Agents for H. I.

HAWAII'S WONDER.

Seven Times Visited by Henry C. Lyon.

Mr. Editor:—I am visiting the volcano of Kilauea for the seventh time since December, 1888, and while I have never found the crater twice alike, the changes which have taken place during the past twelve months are remarkably great. The rapidity with which the lake of fire has built itself up during the last year is a fitting counterpart to the tremendous subsidence three years ago, when the system of Halemauaua hills disappeared, leaving a vast crater to mark the spot where they had stood so long. I am particularly impressed by the vast quantities of lava which have overflowed from the lake during the past few months, by the great area of the lake—over fifteen acres at present—and by the magnificent displays of activity in the fountains and billows, which attest the tremendous power beneath this grandest volcano on earth. The fine views to be had of the lake during the day from the very shores of the sea of fire, or the more grandly magnificent displays afforded at night to the spectators on the bluffs nearest to the lake are worth ten times the exertion necessary to see them.

Now that Kilauea is doing herself proud, and the facilities for easy access to the Volcano House and comfortable sojourn while under its friendly roof are so good, thousands more should bestir themselves to visit this most sublime spectacle in all nature. The charming journey here, passing as one does on his trip from Honolulu through the lovely group of islands until Hilo the beautiful is reached, and then riding through the matchless expanse of luxuriant tropical forest traversed by the excellent volcano road, would well repay one for the expense of this trip were it not climaxed by the "stunning" wonder, the Volcano of Kilauea. The heroic age of volcano visiting is happily past. The new road from Hilo is within a few months of being completed, and all classes and conditions of men can now make the trip to Kilauea as easily and as delightfully as could well be desired. I am positive that not a single member of our Raymond & Whitcomb party looks upon the visit here as otherwise than a most delightful holiday outing, and the only regret is that a few more days could not be devoted to the attractions of Kilauea and Hilo.

HENRY C. LYON.
Kilauea Volcano House, April 5, 1894.

After the Pests.

Mr. Marsden is on the war path. He does not intend to let the cottony cushion scale destroy the pleasantness of Waimea, Hawaii, if he can help it. Miss Lyons has sent him some specimens of the noxious pest, and he is busily engaged collecting and fattening the larvae of the *redia cardinalis* which will be sent up to Waimea shortly.

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The schooner R. W. Bartlett will depart for Laysan Island the latter part of this week. Captain Freeth will be a passenger on her. There is some talk of chartering the Robert Lewers to make one trip to the same place.

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